607 Informants 72.

[587] say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded [601] in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a sexual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

605 [601] There is a joking relationship which takes place between cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilateral junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, concubine, lover, etc., and she returns the joke calling him slave, husband, lover, etc., and extracting joking money (kungana sulibe) from him on the Sala Laya (roughly the New Year). This brings on a kind of play behaviour with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Yo-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his 605 joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them tiu (junior 601 in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiunyi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings 605 into tiu (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only [582] marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

(184) Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking 571 463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers; 614 pepper sellers and kola-nut wholesalers. Joking relations also hold 648 between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tèra; Kuburi and Tèra; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bèdde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 602 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the